

## Representing the Windrush generation: metaphor in discourses then and now

Article (Accepted Version)

Taylor, Charlotte (2020) Representing the Windrush generation: metaphor in discourses then and now. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 17 (1). pp. 1-21. ISSN 1740-5904

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# ***Representing the Windrush generation: Metaphor in discourses then and now***

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## **1 Introduction**

### ***1.1 Overview***

This paper is part of a wider project examining (dis)continuity in the representation of migrants in the UK over the last 200 years. The particular focus here regards a group of people who moved to the UK in the period 1948-1971 and who have become known as the *Windrush generation* (see Section 3.1).<sup>1</sup> The paper constitutes a response to ongoing events in which the nature of this group's current and past representations has become the topic of discussion in itself. As Van Dijk (2017: 230) reminds us, migration discourse is language as social action: 'migration as a social phenomenon not only consists of (groups of) participants, institutions, many types of social and political (inter)action, but also, quite prominently, of many genres of migration discourse as social and political acts and interaction'. In this paper I use diachronic corpora of parliamentary debates and national media to evaluate the current government rhetoric in which the Windrush generation are constructed as 'good' migrants by comparing these contemporary representations with

- a) their representations in the 1940s and 1950s, and
- b) contemporary representation of those the government constructs as unwanted migrants.

### ***1.2 Metaphor and migration discourse***

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<sup>1</sup> The 1971 cut off is a result of the 1971 Immigration Act which gave right to remain to Commonwealth citizens already living in the UK.

Metaphor analysis is chosen as one of two tools of analysis because of the way in which it allows us to access evaluative positions which in the single occurrence may not be visible. Metaphor works through discourse and at the level of discourse because it is evaluative and cumulative in nature; it is often only when we have multiple occurrences that the conceptual metaphor can be identified. From the perspective of the text producer, the metaphor in the individual text, particularly when conventionalised, may be either unconsciously produced, or consciously produced because of its plausible deniability. As such, it is particularly fitting for critical discourse studies which is 'critical in the sense that it aims to show *non-obvious* ways in which language is involved in social life' (Fairclough 2001:229, my italics) and corpus-assisted discourse studies, with its emphasis on *non-obvious* meanings (e.g. Partington 2017) and ability to zoom out above the level of the text to observe aggregated meanings.

Metaphors which have been identified in migration discourse may be broadly divided into those that focus on the destination country (studies of metaphor use in representation of emigration are still relatively uncommon) and those which focus on the people who move/are moved there. In this study I focus on discussion of immigrants and so on metaphors in which they are the target. However, there is not a distinct line between the metaphors of country and metaphors of people who move in migration discourse. For instance, the metaphor THE NATION IS A FAMILY HOME, as discussed in Burke (2002), allows the migrants to be variously positioned as MIGRANTS ARE GUESTS and MIGRANTS ARE INVADERS OF THE FAMILY HOME. In THE NATION IS A BODY, Santa Ana (2002) shows that migrants can variously be positioned in relation to the nation-body as a DISEASE infecting it and/or as a PHYSICAL BURDEN it must bear. In relation to THE NATION IS A CONTAINER, realised by locutions such as 'full up', Charteris-Black shows how an entirely different conceptual metaphor is pulled in for the metaphors of people. In this case he shows a conceptual link with water metaphors (discussed

further below) as the MIGRANTS AS WATER risk breaching the boundary around the container (2006: 569).

A large number of metaphors in which migrants (or, more usually, immigrants specifically) are the target have been identified from analysis of different contexts. These include, but are not limited to:

- MIGRANTS ARE WATER (a sub-category of MIGRATION IS A NATURAL DISASTER)
- MIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS
- MIGRANTS ARE OBJECTS
- MIGRANTS ARE A WEIGHT
- MIGRANTS ARE WEEDS
- MIGRANTS ARE POLLUTANTS

Arcimaviciene & Baglama (2018) propose that the metaphors they identified in US and European migration discourses may be grouped into two myths or narratives: the myth of dehumanization and the myth of moral authority. These two macro-categories largely seem to account for the metaphors in the list above and start to move us into consideration of *why* metaphors are important from the analyst's goal of understanding discourses and the speaker's goal of persuasion.

Metaphors act as a way of understanding the world and so the use of metaphor offers up a particular interpretation of the target. Interpretation here is, of course, the key term because metaphors by their very nature are not neutral. When we liken one thing to another we do so on a partial basis; as Semino et al. (2018: 29) put it, metaphor use 'highlights some aspects (the similarities that can be established between the two) and backgrounds others (things that are different or irrelevant for the comparison). This helps communicate the [...] evaluation, and can facilitate some inference while making others unlikely'. Another aspect of the evaluation is that metaphor may offer a more emotive interpretation of a process. For

instance, according to Marlow (2015: 269), '[t]he use of metaphors provides more concrete visual imagery to enhance perceptions of threat about immigrants (e.g. immigrants as "waves of water", "social parasites", or other dehumanized entities)'. In some sense, the use of metaphor in persuasive communication may also be considered a kind of 'long term investment' given the way that 'the use of metaphor on a daily basis in public/political discourse permits the creation of common ground by appeal to a shared cultural frame' (Santa Ana 1999: 195). With reference to the two narratives proposed by Arcimaviciene & Baglama (2018), the common ground established is one in which the 'us' group of the speaker and target audience share a view of migrants as morally inferior and less human. The use of metaphor in these contexts is, at some level, always a choice, as is the selection of any one metaphor over another, and this is the focus for CDS (Fairclough 2013: 100). The possibility of alternatives is raised by Charteris-Black (2006) with reference to migration metaphor specifically:

What both 'disaster' and 'container' metaphors have in common is that they discourage empathy with immigrants by treating them as objects, rather than as the subjects of life stories. Inanimate metaphors take the perspective of the observer of an inanimate phenomenon rather than of a human participant; had a human perspective been adopted, then different metaphors drawing on domains such as 'journey' or 'family' may have encouraged greater empathy with – and interest in – immigrants themselves. (Charteris-Black, 2006: 569)

This is not to suggest that all metaphors that dehumanise are selected as a conscious choice or with aggressive intention. We can imagine that metaphors which emphasise enormity of scale might be used persuasively to encourage humanitarian action. Indeed KhosraviNik (2009) shows how WATER metaphors may be used in the context of articles that invoke empathy and compassion for refugees, while Salashour (2016) provides instances of the WATER metaphor in financial media that frame migrants as having a positive economic

benefit. As KhosraviNik (2009: 487) says, ‘the function of metaphor use strictly depends on the social, cultural, political and cognitive elements constituting the “interpretative context”’.

An important part of that context is often the issue of ‘control’ which is central to evaluation, as discussed in Partington, Duguid & Taylor (2013). To take an example from migration, an *influx* of people may be presented as positive from the perspective of those who feel in control (e.g. employers requiring seasonal labour), while it may constitute a negative portrayal from those who feel their world is changing and they are powerless to affect it. Control is also identified as a significant feature in migration discourse in Charteris-Black’s (2006: 569) analysis of disaster metaphors because ‘[f]ear of loss of control and resistance to social change contribute to the centre-right world-view’.

### **1.3 Binary opposition and migration discourse**

Binary categorisation or binary opposition is a familiar trope in migration discourse, such as recent debates about *refugees* vs *economic migrants*, in which the first naming choice acknowledges rights while the second positions migration as a lifestyle choice. These pairs may be made up of different names, or pre-modifiers may be used to create distinctions. For instance, Pickering (2001) notes the use of pre-modifiers such as *genuine* versus *non-genuine*, *legal* versus *illegal* in discussion of migrants in Australia. These are not simply naturally occurring oppositions; as Rowe and O’Brien (2014) report with reference to Australian parliamentary discourse, *genuine* and *illegal* groups of migrants were discursively constructed, which involved undocumented migrants being ‘continuously depicted as “illegal” in the parliamentary debates in 2011’ despite ‘it not being illegal to arrive in Australia without a valid visa and subsequently apply for asylum’ (Rowe & O’Brien 2014: 179). Similarly, in the UK context, Lynn & Lea’s (2007) analysis of published readers’ letters on the topic of asylum seekers found one of the principal strategies regarded differentiation of

*bogus* and *genuine* applicants which is a nonsensical distinction; under the 1951 Refugee Convention everybody has the right to *seek* asylum in another country.

This creation of (false) binary opposites is a rhetorically efficient move because, by dividing the group, one portion can be dismissed as ‘undeserving’, and, as Goodman & Speer (2007) show, this may then allow the speaker to argue that the whole group should be treated with suspicion so the ‘deserving’ can be carefully distinguished from the ‘undeserving’. Indeed, the speaker may even be able to rhetorically position themselves as protecting the ‘deserving’ group by enacting harsh policies against the ‘undeserving’ group (see also Van Dijk 1997).

Furthermore, as with metaphor, categorisation constitutes a discursive choice and alternatives are always available. For instance, as Goodman & Speer point out:

Other ways of categorizing asylum seekers could be in terms of those who have fled a country in which the British army is involved and those who have not, or in terms of those who have come from ex-British colonies and those who have not. Each of these classifications would paint a very different picture of what an asylum seeker is; in particular, they would focus on the factors causing asylum seekers to leave a country, and not on the legitimacy of their claim to be here (Goodman & Speer, 2007: 180).

Another feature of opposition is that the term used for the ‘deserving’ group is often more specific than the ‘undeserving’. Thus, having constructed an opposition, such as *refugee* (specific set of rights) vs *migrant* (superordinate), a speaker may then re-assign the ‘deserving’ (*refugee*) back into the vaguer and increasingly negatively-connoted term (*migrant*). Goodman and Speer (2007: 176) show how ‘the categories “asylum seeker” and “immigrant” are conflated so that asylum seekers come to be presented as economic or illegal immigrants’ (see also O’Doherty and Lecouteur 2007).

Charteris-Black (2006) discusses similar processes of categorisation and conflation in terms of metonymy in which one element (the unfavourably evaluated one usually) comes to stand for the whole. In analysing Conservative securitisation discourse, he notes how the speaker establishes a

double metonymy in which a particular example of an immigrant, ‘the terrorist’, represents a sub-category of immigrants – ‘illegal immigrants’ – that in turn represents the whole category of ‘immigrants’. Because *some* immigrants are illegal immigrants and *some* illegal immigrants are terrorists, an illogical link can be made between terrorists and *all* immigrants. This link is assisted by the idea that terrorists and illegal immigrants belong to the same social category of ‘criminal’ because they have both broken the law. This relationship of equivalence creates semantic contagion between the two categories of ‘immigrant’ (Charteris-Black, 2006: 574)

Binary opposition in representation of the Windrush generation is discussed in Section 3.2.

## **2 Methodology**

### **2.1 Overview**

The methodological framework combines corpus linguistics and (critical) discourse studies (e.g. Baker 2006; Partington et al. 2013; Mautner 2016) and follows McEnery & Baker (2017) in the application of discourse analysis to historical corpora. Although the process of analysis is iterative, zooming in and out of different levels of focus, a particular strength of the corpus linguistics approach is that it offers a bird’s eye view, looking at multiple occurrences simultaneously, which enables identification of patterns. As Fairclough (1989: 54) observed, regarding the exertion of power by the media, ‘[a] single text on its own is quite insignificant: the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader, and so forth’. If we consider discourse to be cumulative, then looking at the cumulated



associations around particular lexical items, that is collocation, can help make this process more evident. Collocation is used in Section 3 to show the overall patterns of representation over time and then I move on to metaphor analysis in Section 4.

## 2.2 Resources

The main corpora used for this case study are:

*Times Online*. This corpus was created at University of Lancaster, using the OCR (optical character recognition) files made available by the British Library.<sup>2</sup> The corpus covers the period 1785–2011 and the current size is c. 10.5 billion words. It was analysed through Lancaster’s CQPWeb interface (Hardie 2012). The scanned articles are also available to view as images through the Times Digital Archive and this is an important resource in checking the wider context of utterances.

*Hansard Corpus*. This resource was created by the SAMUELS consortium and was accessed through the free Brigham Young University corpus interface. The corpus contains approximately 7.6 million parliamentary speeches from the period 1803–2005 and covers both the House of Commons and the House of Lords (overall size c.1.6 billion words).

*Hansard 2018 Windrush debates*. This is a bespoke corpus of all six House of Commons debates which focussed on the Windrush generation in 2018. They were held on: April 16, April 23, April 30, May 2, June 14, July 16. The corpus size is 95,382 tokens. It was analysed using Wordsmith Tools (Scott 2011).

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<sup>2</sup>I would like to acknowledge the support of the ESRC Centre for Corpus Approaches to Social Science and Lancaster University for offering me the opportunity to access their corpora while a visiting researcher in 2016

Additional resources used were the online newspaper archives for the Guardian, Telegraph, Daily Mail and Mirror which provide images of past articles; the SiBol UK press corpora and EnTenTen web corpus which are both accessed through Sketch Engine.<sup>3</sup>

### 2.3 *Methods*

In this paper I broadly follow the approach of the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) described in Pragglejaz Group (2007), and recently applied in Semino et al. (2018: 5), that an expression may be classified as a metaphor when:

- a) Its ‘contextual meaning’ contrasts with a ‘basic meaning’ that is more physical and concrete (although not necessarily more frequent), and
- b) Where the contextual meaning can be understood via comparison with the basic meaning.

In identifying the metaphors used to talk about the Windrush generation in the 1950s the following process was used:

- In a preliminary stage, I established what names were used in the previous decades to refer to the people currently described as the *Windrush Generation*. This was done by reading contemporaneous articles and debates on the topic and noting all naming strategies, then concordancing those terms to check precision and recall.
- The concordance lines were manually tagged to isolate those that referred to people in relation to the UK.
- These UK-related occurrences were analysed and tagged for metaphor use.

This procedure, and the fact that I was not working as part of a team, mean that I do not claim to have identified all migration metaphors used in connection with this group of

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<sup>3</sup> Available at <http://www.sketchengine.eu> – access is free through universities in EU member states.

people. In addition, as I worked from concordance lines, it is likely there were metaphors that were some distance from the search term that I missed. What I can claim is that the metaphors discussed in this paper were frequently used in discussion of this group of people and, as such, are salient in their representation.

### **3 Context**

#### **3.1 *Who are the Windrush generation?***

For those who have been following UK news, the terms *Windrush* and *Windrush generation* will have become very familiar throughout 2018 when it emerged that the government strategy of establishing a ‘hostile environment’ towards immigration had led to a number (undefined at the time of writing) of British citizens being deported, made unemployed, and denied healthcare, benefits and pensions. The people affected are British citizens who came to the UK from Commonwealth countries in the period 1948-1971. Under new government policies, those who did not have documentation regarding their right to be in the UK were now required to prove evidence of continuous residence in the UK since 1973 with several pieces of documentation being required for each year. In many cases, this proved impossible and so people were treated as if they were illegal immigrants resulting in considerable hardship, emotional and otherwise, and in some cases deportation.

The SS Empire *Windrush* was a British ship which in 1948 carried some of the first post-war passengers to move from the West Indies to the UK in search of work. At the time of arrival, there was no sense in the newspaper reporting that this was a historic event and in the week of arrival there were just ten articles published in the Times, Guardian, Mirror and Daily Mail mentioning the event.

Indeed the metonymic use of *Windrush* as a signifier for Caribbean Commonwealth migration seems to have taken place relatively recently; an analysis of the collocates of

*Windrush* in the Times corpus revealed no evidence of association with the particular historical event or migration before the 1990s. Similarly, the term *Windrush generation* was not found in the newspapers Guardian, Independent, Telegraph, Times or Daily Mail before the 1990s and the first occurrence in Hansard was post 2010. Once *Windrush generation* did occur, it was consistently more frequent in the liberal press throughout the decades of the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s. In fact, the first mentions in the right-wing Telegraph and Daily Mail (in 2000) are both attribution with citations from The Voice, which describes itself as ‘Britain’s favourite black newspaper’. This use of *Windrush generation* as a self-descriptor may also account for why it occurs first and more frequently in the more liberal press.

In order to gain a snapshot of how people now described as the *Windrush generation* were represented over the period 1948-2018, the collocates were calculated. Table 1 displays the 50 strongest collocates for each decade and these have been manually grouped into semantic sets based on reading of concordance lines for each decade.<sup>4</sup> The occurrences for sport, which dominated the collocates, have simply been summarised because the individual items are not relevant here.

[TABLE 1 NEAR HERE]

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<sup>4</sup> This number was chosen as it seemed sufficient to illustrate trends in the data without taking up too much space. Where fewer than 50 collocates are shown, this is because there were fewer than 50 available.

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The collocates indicate that the salience of people from the Caribbean in the context of migration fades away progressively before returning to the fore in 2000s with the historicisation of the arrival of the Windrush. This is seen in explicit migration-related terms, deictic references and quantification, which has been identified as a common semantic preference in discussion of migration (e.g. Baker 2006), and racialized descriptions follow a similar pattern. The category containing references to the UK, is also a potentially highly interesting avenue, as this often involved overt discussion of the ways in which this group of people were (not) British. In Section 4, the item that we will follow up is *influx* which occurs only as a collocate in the 1940s and 1950s data. This indicates the use of metaphor in representing migrants and more specifically the presence of the IMMIGRANTS ARE WATER or IMMIGRANTS ARE AN UNCONTROLLABLE BODY OF WATER.

### 3.2 *Binary opposition in the 2018 Windrush parliamentary debates*

The strategies of binary opposition and conflation mentioned Section 1.3 were observed in the 2018 Windrush debates both for the government's previous binary opposition between 'good' and 'bad' migrants, and for the ongoing discursive conflation of illegal immigration and the Windrush Generation. These two aspects became the subject of meta-discussion during the debates, as for instance in the two following accusations from SNP and Labour MPs which address the general strategy of opposing 'good' and 'bad' migrants.

- (1) I am concerned by the argument that the world can be neatly and easily divided into **good “compliant migrants” on one hand and wicked and nasty “illegal immigrants”** on the other, and by the argument that the hostile environment will affect only the latter while everyone else carries on utterly unharmed. Those arguments are at best naive and at worst disingenuous, as the Windrush scandal has shown. (Stuart McDonald, SNP)
- (2) There is an unfortunate history in this country of sometimes defaulting to seeing categories of **good immigrants and bad immigrants**. For a long time, anyone from the

Caribbean tended to be treated as a bad immigrant, with all the stereotypes that were ascribed to black Britons. I have lived long enough to see things move on, however, and we now sometimes hear people who are happy to say the most vile things about Muslims and eastern Europeans exempting black people from their vitriol. History takes some surprising turns.

(Diane Abbott, Labour)

In example (2), Abbott gets to the heart of one of the issues addressed empirically in this paper which is the cognitive dissonance between the current warm representation of the Windrush generation and the linguistic proximity between how they were represented at the time of arrival and representations of current migration.

Regarding the conflation strategy, metadiscussion, as might be expected, again came from opposition benches, as illustrated in (3) and (4).

(3) Will [the Home Secretary] also condemn the continual attempt, not just in the Chamber but in the country generally, to **conflate legal immigration with illegal immigration**? I am fed up, every time the Windrush generation are spoken about, of continually hearing, “Well, what about illegal immigration?” We are talking about the Windrush generation. (Chuka Umunna, Labour)

(4) In recent weeks, we have seen so many Government Ministers and Members of the House talk about the issue of illegal immigration, **conflating illegal immigration and the Windrush crisis**. This is symptomatic of the hostile environment and its corrosive impact. What we have seen in this House, with Members standing up to talk about illegal immigration, is a perfect metaphor for the hostile environment and how it works: **a blurring of the lines between people who are here legally and illegal immigrants**, scapegoating innocent people, and blaming immigrants for the failures of successive Governments. (David Lammy, Labour)

What is being criticised here is precisely the process outlined in Section 1.3. That first an opposition between two groups is established (‘good’ and ‘bad’) and that subsequently members of the ‘good’ group can be reassigned to the ‘bad’.

In terms of evidence that the government were directing the Windrush debates towards a debate on illegal immigration, as claimed above, there are two simple sets of data we can consider. The first is the number of questions posed by Conservative MPs during Windrush debates that asked for comment on illegal immigration. Such comment occurred both in ‘friendly’ questions (those asked to a member of their own party), as illustrated in (5), and the ‘hostile’ questions (those asked to an MP from another party), as illustrated in (6).

(5) I welcome the Home Secretary’s statement and also thank the Prime Minister for her apology, but may I make the point that my constituents in Kettering, while recognising the value of the Windrush generation 100%, want the Government to crack down as hard as they can on **illegal immigration**? Will she assure me that she will not take her eye off the ball when it comes to tackling **illegal immigration** to this country? (Mr Philip Hollobone, Conservative)

(6) Does the right hon. Lady believe that we should reduce **illegal immigration**? (James Cartlidge, Conservative)

We can also measure this through frequency observations at the lexical level; Figure 1 shows the frequency (relative to the total number of words spoken by that group) of immigration-related words in MPs’ first turn in the debate (first turns were isolated because response turns are likely to be lexically influenced by the question).

[FIGURE 1 NEAR HERE]

There is a consistent pattern of the Conservative speakers referring more frequently to illegality and immigration in their first turns. The only item for which the opposition party speakers show a higher occurrence is the singular *immigrant* which may indicate a greater focus on individual cases.



## 4 Metaphor analysis and discussion

### 4.1 Overview of metaphor in the 1950s data

Tables 2 and 3 display metaphors that were found with reference to the lexical items *Jamaicans*, *West Indians*, *Barbadians* and *coloured immigrants* (which were identified in the preparatory stages as the most frequent naming choices for the Windrush generation in the 1950s). In each case, the concordance lines were manually sorted so these metaphors are only those that occurred where the people were being discussed in relation to the UK. This initial sorting was revealing in itself because no metaphors were found in Hansard in the concordance lines that referred to this group of people when *not* discussed in relation to the UK, showing the intensification of rhetoric when people from these countries are positioned as immigrants to the UK. If we consider McEnery's (re)classification of moral panics, intensification of rhetoric is one marker of the presence of a moral panic and 'the moral panic is a distinct register marked by a strong reliance on evaluative lexis that is polar and extreme in nature' (2006: 7).

The metaphors are organised across the table in order of frequency with the realisations of each metaphor listed in the column.

[TABLE 2 NEAR HERE]

[TABLE 3 NEAR HERE]

As can be seen from Table 3, the number of metaphors identified in Hansard were very few, but they are reported here to illustrate the close match between the press discourse and parliamentary discourse.

### 4.2 IMMIGRANTS ARE WATER

As seen in Tables 2 and 3, water metaphors were the most common in both the Times and Hansard corpora. This is not entirely surprising given that water metaphors (variously

referred to as IMMIGRANTS ARE DANGEROUS WATER, IMMIGRANTS ARE LIQUID or as a subset of IMMIGRANTS ARE A NATURAL DISASTER) have been identified in migration discourses across different national contexts, including Austria (e.g. El Refaie 2001), France (e.g. Van der Valk 2003), Malaysia (e.g. Don & Lee 2014), Spain (e.g. Rubio-Carbonero & Zapata-Barrero 2017), New Zealand (e.g. Salashour 2016) and the USA (e.g. Strom & Alcock 2017). In the UK context, water metaphors have been discussed in work on right-wing election manifestos (Charteris-Black 2006) and the broadsheet and tabloid press in the 1990s and 2000s (KhosraviNik 2009, Charteris-Black 2006, Gabrielatos & Baker 2008).

The full range of realisations found here were: *influx*, *inflow*, *flow*, *swelling*, *flooded*, *stream*, *floodgates*, *inundated*, *wave* and *absorb*. *Influx* was the most frequent and is also the most conventionalised, both in the sense of erosion of the basic meaning (the definition in the online Macmillan Dictionary is ‘a large number of people or things coming to a particular place’) and co-occurrence with migration discourse. Analysis of EnTenTen, a large corpus of web-based texts, shows that the ten most salient collocates of *influx of* refer to migration (*immigrant*, *refugee*, *migrant*, *settler*, *foreigner*), temporary human movement (*tourist*, *visitor*), and economic resources (*cash*, *worker*, *capital*). In the case of migrants, they are potentially both human movement and economic resources to the speaker and this may account for the strong collocation. This interpretation would also be in line with the presence of positive liquid metaphors in economic articles (e.g. seen in Salashour 2016).

In the metaphors used in the Times there were no instances in which the migrants were clearly being favourably evaluated and in two thirds of the instances they were negatively evaluated. A frequent co-occurrence in the lines was the explicit evaluator *problem* which occurred in a third of the occurrences, illustrated in (7).

- (7) Special attention given to the **problem** of unmarried mothers after the large **influx** of **West Indians** into Britain, is mentioned in the annual report (Times 1955)

The same pattern of negative representation was seen in the Hansard occurrences as shown in (8), in which we see two realisations of the water metaphor

(8) There are approximately 11,000 to 12,000 of these coloured colonial immigrants **pouring** into the country every year. [...] The cause of the **problem** is very obvious and affects not only the West Indies but Africa, Pakistan and other territories. I think, however, that the primary cause is the **influx** of **Jamaicans**. (Hansard 1954, Hynd)

Charteris Black (2006) argues that the prevalence of water metaphors may be traced to their relation to *control*, a key feature discussed in Section 1.3:

[a]t a still less conscious level, I suggest, conceptually, metaphors referring to liquids are preferred because of the knowledge that, by their nature, liquids – tides, rivers, waves etc. – move around; they can therefore be related to a more primary conceptual metaphor: CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS [...] An important corollary of this conceptual metaphor is the entailment that *lack of control over change is lack of control over movement*

Charteris Black (2006: 572-573)

This centrality of control to water metaphors is further discussed in Strom & Alcock (2017) and was evident in the occurrences in the 1950s discussion of the Windrush generation with premodifiers such as *sudden*, or indeed explicit reference to *control*, as in (9)

(9) there were complaints from a number of local authorities about the housing situation which was appearing in their areas as the result of the **uncontrolled influx of West Indians** into them. (Hansard 1956, Mancroft)

One effect of the WATER metaphor is that certain features of the migration movement are backgrounded, while others are foregrounded. As Hart 2008 notes, '[t]he migration of people conceptualised as a single moving entity masks the plight of individual immigrants. It

carries the inference that immigration is a simple phenomenon and makes available the inference that all cases may be treated in the same way'. This seems particularly the case for *influx*, in which the movement is also conceptualised as a single event, rather like *flood*. As noted above, the selection of any metaphor is choice and one that carries meaning as noted by Santa Ana (2002: 72) who states that '[t]o characterise the movement of people as moving water might seem quite natural, but such a formulation of movement of people is not the only possible image that can be employed'.

If we focus specifically on the group who are held up in opposition to the Windrush Generation in the parliamentary debates, *illegal immigrants*, we find the same metaphors. In a corpus of newspapers from 2013 (SiBol, interrogated through Sketch Engine), the strongest noun collocates which precede *illegal immigrants* are: *deportation*, *legalisation*, *apprehension*, *influx*, *child*, *flow*, *million*, *plight*, *category*, *population*, *status*, *percent*, *wave*, *issue*, *thousand*. Water is a feature in three of the collocates and in fact seems to be the only metaphorical element. Thus we have strong evidence that the groups who are rhetorically opposed in contemporary debates were conceptualised in the same pejorative terms.

#### 4.3 *IMMIGRANTS ARE INVADERS*

This highly pejorative metaphor, illustrated in (10), has previously been discussed in relation to right-wing migration discourse in France (van der Valk 2003), Germany (Boke 1997, reported in Van der Valk 2003), USA (Santa Ana 1999) and Australia (Burke 2002). It is important to note that this metaphor does not fit a dehumanisation narrative and yet it clearly presents the targets as an extreme threat.

(10) Thousands of **Jamaicans, Barbadians, Trinidadians, and West Africans** find jobs of one kind or another in public transport. Less conspicuous is their **invasion** of the catering, garment, and entertainment industries. (Times 1958)

It does not dehumanise but instead presents immigrants as a serious physical threat, drawing on the IMMIGRATION IS WAR metaphor which was likely to have considerable emotive impact considering the proximity to the end of the Second World War.

The IMMIGRANTS ARE INVADERS metaphor was not used in the 2018 debates and to do so would have attracted great censure. However, the less individualised metaphor IMMIGRATION IS WAR was employed four times by Conservative speakers (it was not used by any other party) with the relatively conventionalised *combat* as shown in (11) where we see an extension of the metaphor with *protect*.

(11) It is not unusual, however, for a country to have legislation that tries to **combat illegal migration** by saying that if someone wants to rent a flat, have a job or go to hospital, they need to show who they are. It is the right thing to do to **protect** people from too much **illegal migration**. (Hansard 2018, Amber Rudd, Conservative)

This usage draws on a shared space with IMMIGRATION IS A CRIME (seen in other collocates of *immigration* such as *tackle* (7), *crack down on* (2), *clampdown on*, *bear down on*, *not go soft on*, *curb*) and it is likely this conflation makes the usage more acceptable / less likely to attract censure in the present day.

#### **4.4 IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS**

The two narratives of dehumanising immigrants and asserting moral authority come together in the MIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS metaphors. These have been previously documented in contemporary migration discourses as, for instance, in Musolff's (2015) detailed investigation of immigrants as (social) *parasites*, *leeches*, or *bloodsuckers* metaphors in UK newspapers, blogs and forums in the 2000s. The study showed that the use of parasite metaphors to dehumanise was 'explicitly criticised and ascribed to a section of the political spectrum that the respective journalists and commentators argue against, even when they employ the

scrounge scenario in general' (2015: 50). Due to the fascist discourse-historical background to animal metaphors, and the 'liveness' of metaphors in this arena, we might expect use to be lower than other metaphors. Indeed there were only three in the press corpus for the 1950s, one of which was attribution, and none in Hansard. Even in (12), the bulk of the extract is dealing with attribution and critique of another argument so there is a possibility that the choice of metaphor was carried over from that source.

(12) The broadsheet calls special attention to the increase in "half-caste" illegitimate children, but omits the obvious conclusion that their number might be smaller were racial relationships between persons of opposite sex regarded as normal. It is also likely that fewer **West Indians** would **mate** with women of "inferior biological standing," and that "outbreaks of race violence" would also be fewer. (Times 1958)

However, there is a less overt category of metaphors that draw on the animal metaphor by presenting migrants as lacking in will and agency and these are discussed below.

In the 2018 debates on the Windrush generation, there is a subset of animal metaphors in which is IMMIGRANTS ARE PREY. There are just four occurrences and they take the form of the Windrush generation being *entangled* and *caught up* in the government's attempts to *go after* and *catch in a net* illegal immigrants. So, again we have a proximity of representation between the 1950s depiction of the Windrush generation and contemporary discussion of illegal immigrants, those to whom they are opposed in government rhetoric.

#### **4.5    *Attraction and lack of volition***

This section does not address a conceptual metaphor directly, but groups together a rather amorphous set of metaphors which share a central semantic feature relating to attraction of the target to some other element and absence of volition in the target's reactions. Initially it appeared that the items in this category were part of the ANIMALS metaphor as the metaphor

represents people as less than human in terms of lacking volition and self-control. However, that categorisation seemed to blur the specificity of the metaphors employed here and would have created an artificial division excluding several realisations that are doing the same metaphorical work. The realisations in this category are illustrated in (13) and (14).

(13) The tenor of the report was also to associate him with the discreditable business of exploiting the alleged **urge of poor Jamaicans** to travel to England at the cost of their families' and friends' landholdings. (Times 1956)

(14) It is not right that these people by the tens of thousand—there are over 30,000 **Jamaicans** in London—having been **drawn here, as though by a magnet**, because of full employment, should have to make their own way and social contacts, thus leading to some of the housing difficulties which are facing some of the London boroughs today. (Hansard 1957, Gibson)

As the examples illustrate, these metaphors were not negatively evaluating or dehumanising in the way that the previous ones functioned. However, they do invoke the narrative of moral superiority; although the speakers appear sympathetic or well-disposed towards the migrants, the stance is a paternalistic one. Agency is taken away from the migrants and responsibility for their movements lies with the 'host' country. This allows for the focus of evaluation to shift from the migrants to the government of the day and/or existing policies.

This metaphor is also present in contemporary migration discourse. For instance, Taylor (2014) discusses the patterns in which the UK is presented as a *magnet* and *honeypot* for migrants in the right-wing British tabloid newspapers. The *honeypot* realisation shows how this metaphor overlaps with the ANIMALS metaphor while *magnet* shows it extends beyond this metaphor.

#### **4.6 IMMIGRANTS ARE OBJECTS/COMMODITIES**

Metaphors of COMMODITY (Santa Ana 1999) and TRADE (El Refaie 2001) have been mentioned in passing in previous research but, as here, they tend to be secondary representations and so have received relatively little attention. More recently, Arcimaviciene & Baglama's (2018) analysis of 57 media articles from European and USA online sources (including newspapers) found that OBJECT and COMMODITY metaphors accounted for approximately a quarter of the metaphors in their data. They claim that '[t]heir use heavily contributes to the creation of social reality based on the mythical narrative that migration is not related to people, their lives and fate, but is rather a process based on the exchange of commodified relations between countries or governments' (2018: 5-6). In this regard, we might expect these metaphors to occur more frequently with forms such as *immigration*, rather than in the co-text of *immigrants* or other names for people, which has been the focus in this study.

In the 1950s press discourse, there was evidence of PRODUCT or, in some cases, more precisely as COMMODITY metaphors. Like the metaphors that depict immigrants as lacking in volition or reason (discussed in Section 4.5), in this case too agency is removed from the immigrants (they do not *arrive*, they are *imported*). Unlike all the previous metaphors, the control in these cases is moved explicitly towards another actor, often the UK itself. This has a significant impact on the evaluation of the immigration in simple good/bad terms, with more favourable evaluations occurring. However, this does not mean that it is necessarily a favourable representation of people who move insofar as they become a commodity for exploitation.

(15) Unless the Government are prepared in the very near future materially to aid the trade by such means as **importing Jamaicans** in appreciable numbers, I can only foresee that service and efficiency must get more and more impaired. (Times 1995)



As (15) illustrates, in IMMIGRANTS ARE A COMMODITY, the immigrants are the goal of some action. Here, the actor is the government and we have a familiar argument that immigrants are 'good' as a commodity for the service industry (the discussion was around hotels). Agency was not always located with the government, as illustrated in (16), an instance of attribution in which the fascist Oswald Mosely is quoted.

(16) The Jamaican problem they would solve at the same time by restoring Jamaican industries so that the **Jamaicans** could go home. "We are going to treat these people fairly but we are going to **send them back home**," he said, and the audience signified approval. (Times 1959)

Again, this is familiar contemporary rhetoric with its emphasis on being *fair* alongside the proposal of forced removal (*send*). There was little evidence of this metaphor in 1950s Hansard although borderline cases such as reference to a *mass of Jamaicans* would suggest that there is some conceptualisation of immigrants as object-like. This absence is striking as parliament is perceived as the home of those who do control movement.

In contrast with the 1950s data, if we go back to 1948 and 1949, the first years of arrival for the Windrush Generation, in the few (thirty) mentions of these people in Hansard, the only metaphor found was that of IMMIGRANTS ARE PRODUCTS, with the realisations including *sending shiploads of West Indians to this country* (Griffiths in 1948) and two references to people being *brought to this country*, as shown in (17).

(17) The point has been put whether it would be possible for **Jamaicans** to be recruited in Jamaica and **brought to this country** for training to help augment the Services in this country. (Hansard 1949, Jones)

In the 2018 Hansard debates, the only realisations that seem to fit this metaphor are *value* and *exploit* with *immigrants* as the goal. With reference to *immigration*, *value* was mentioned again (in both cases by Conservative speakers), as was bringing *benefits*. This

suggests there is a trace of the economic IMMIGRANTS ARE COMMODITIES in seemingly favourable discussion of immigration in 2018, but it is a frame that is quantitatively weaker than other metaphors.

Absence in discourse is only meaningful against some expectation of presence. The absence of these PRODUCT metaphors becomes particularly salient if we consider the representation of agency in these uses; in the 2018 Hansard debates, there are references to the Windrush generation who *came* or *arrived* here. But there are none to them being *brought* here, as in (11) from the 1940s. The agency of the British government is removed in the contemporary representations, which in turn erases responsibility. The closest we have to a metaphor recognising the British government's role in Windrush immigration is that of NATION AS FAMILY HOME with four references to the Windrush generation being *invited* to the UK (all four from two Labour MPs).

#### **4.7 IMMIGRANTS ARE BUILDERS**

The last metaphor that we can consider here is that of MIGRANTS ARE BUILDERS. Like the INVADER metaphor in 4.3, this metaphor does not dehumanise the people described. However, the evaluation is markedly different. It is also different in terms of who it describes; while the previous metaphors revealed a continuity of representation between past representations of the Windrush generation and present representations of immigrants to whom they are discursively opposed, in this case, the BUILDING metaphor was noted only in the 2018 Hansard debates. It does not appear to have been recorded in previous research analysing immigration frames and was not found in the representation of the Windrush generation in the years of arrival.

The BUILDING metaphors fall into two groups, as illustrated in (18) and (19).

(18) The **Windrush generation** helped to **rebuild this country** after world war two, and we owe them a debt. (Hansard 2018, Francois, Conservative)

(19) The Windrush scandal has sent shockwaves through this country, and so it should. British citizens, men and women who were raised here, who **built their lives here**, who helped to **rebuild this country**—their country—after the devastation of the second world war, have been denied their basic human rights. (Hansard 2018, de Cordova, Labour)

The first set (22 occurrences, 11 each for government and opposition speakers) represents the MIGRANTS AS BUILDERS and the COUNTRY AS A BUILDING. As illustrated in (18), however, in half the government occurrences (and slightly fewer for opposition), the migrants are not part of the country structure (*we owe them a debt*); it is built for the benefit of an ‘us’ that seems to exclude ‘them’ (see also Price 2018). So, as in MIGRANTS ARE A COMMODITY, we have a metaphorical representation that may be classified as favourable (they are presented as ‘good’ for the country), but which is not necessarily a favourable or empowering representation of the people involved.

In the second set, as in (15), the migrants are presented as *building* their lives. This metaphor was used by both opposition and government speakers but, interestingly, in two of the five occurrences by opposition speakers it opened out discussion beyond the Windrush generation specifically (21).

(21) I have constituents—I am sure we all do—who arrived here with the same ideas as the **Windrush** people. They came to **build a life** and contribute to the economy. (Hansard 2018, Deidre Brock, SNP)

This set of metaphor seems to unequivocally favourably evaluate those described. It pulls on notions of integration and, as in (21) goes alongside economic arguments but not to the detriment of the target (the focus is on the benefit to the migrants too). Furthermore, as noted above, this is only the second metaphor discussed here that does not dehumanise the people involved.

What makes this set worthy of discussion is, once again, the issue of absence. These more favourable representations are not present in the 1950s representations of the Windrush generation. Nor are they present in contemporary representations of current immigrants. They are, it appears, a retrospective and nostalgic imagining in which the process of migration can be seen from the perspective of the migrants (as they build their lives). What they also show is that there are alternative metaphor scenarios, and so the dominance of negative metaphors should be seen as a choice.

## **5 Conclusions**

In this paper I have tried to draw out the interweaving of current discussion of the Windrush generation, current discussion of those to whom they are rhetorically opposed (the ‘undeserving’ or ‘bad’ immigrants) and discussion of the Windrush generation in the 1940s and 1950s.

What the analysis has empirically displayed by focussing on the metaphorical framings is that there is very little that connects the framing of the Windrush migrants at the time of arrival with their current depiction. This functions in both directions, with the negatively-evaluating metaphors of the 1950s not being reproduced in construal of Windrush migrants at the present moment in 2018, and the more favourable metaphors of 2018 (migrants as BUILDERS) not finding an echo in the descriptions of the same people in the 1950s. This disconnect illustrates how nostalgia and migration (Kushner 2006) intersect: favourable evaluations of the past are strategic in allowing present hostility to be attributed to the particularities of the current target. Furthermore, favourably evaluating a (temporally) distant group of migrants may function as a strategy of avoiding accusations of xenophobia.

Where we see a much closer proximity in metaphorical use is between the representation of the Windrush generation at the time of their arrival and the representations

of other immigrants at the time of arrival in the present day. Although the current government discourse places these two groups into opposition of 'good' and 'bad' migrants, both groups are described with the same negatively evaluating metaphors such as migrants are WATER, INVADERS, ANIMALS and COMMODITIES. This indicates a cultural schema for discussing immigration which is not logically or specifically tied to the people being described. It is more like a series of slots into which any group may be inserted. This quasi-arbitrariness of representation of migrants is both concerning as it entirely deindividualises, not even recognising the existence of different groups, and encouraging in that it starts to point towards the ways in which immigration frames are a discursive inheritance rather than an original script of prejudice written anew for each group of newcomers. The empirically documented proximity of representation allows us to unambiguously reveal the binary opposition of 'good' and 'bad' migrants in government debates as a rhetorical strategy intended to persuade, not a reflection of inherent difference among the people categorised.

The critical value of a diachronic approach to migration discourses seems to lie here; in systematically bringing out the contradictions of contemporary representations, the falsity of nostalgia and the ways in which the negative traits ascribed to 'them' in the present are likely to have been ascribed to 'us' in the past.

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## Tables and Figures

	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Migration	Influx	influx immigration	immigration immigrants emigration				Windrush 1948
Deixis		ARRIVE. arrive here come left arrived leave came	here settled came		here		
Racialised description		Coloured	coloured	Whites			black whites
Quantification		Hundred Thousands more many 700 number numbers mostly few 400 500	many more	most many			many
Nationality / Ethnicity 1	Africans Indians	Africans Pakistanis West Indian	Indians Pakistanis Asians Africans Cypriots WEST Australia	Asians Australians Africans West Indians Pakistanis Cypriots	Asians Indians Pakistanis Africans Afro Australians Indian West South Pakistan	Indians Afro West Africans Asians Australians	Indians Africans Pakistanis Asians West Nigerians Bangladeshis Zimbabwean Sri

							Australians Zealand
Nationality / Ethnicity 2		Jamaicans Jamaica	Jamaicans Jamaica Indies Jamaican	Jamaica			Indies
Nationality / Ethnicity 3		Britain British England Kingdom	Britain	Britain	England		Britain England
Other	young other	seeking find jobs work employment living help housing brief say said hope others	young living	police crime	young		fellow visitors young living
Sport	0	5	29	27	34	43	23

**Table 1.** Collocates of (Jamaicans|Trinidadians|Tobagonians|Barbadians|West Indians|Bajans|Afro-Caribbean)<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Functional items have been removed to ease reading. This is not to suggest these items could not be revealing for another study.

	Total (in UK)	WATER	PRODUCTS	ATTRACTION	INVASION	ANIMAL	OTHER
West Indians	279	influx (16), inflow, flow, swelling, flooded	send, handles, concentrations of, bulk of, scattering of, by the shipload,	appealed, attracted (4), impelled,	Battalion	mate, colonies of	contingent of, descend upon, congregate, blindfold adventurers
Jamaicans	134	stream (2), influx (4),	import (3), send	appeal, urge of		in harness with	
Coloured immigrants*	86	influx (6), flow, stream (2), floodgates, inundated, flood	spread [CIs], receive [CIs],	attracted, drawn	'invasion', taking over	'Blackfly epidemic'	halt
Barbadians	3				invasion		
% of metaphors		48%	17%	15%	6%	6%	8%

Table 2. Metaphors in discussion of the Windrush generation in the Times 1950s

	WATER	ATTRACTION	INVASION	WEIGHT	OTHER
West Indians	flow influx (2) flood absorbed	attractive to		burden	assimilate
Jamaicans	influx (4)	magnet	incursion	burden	jump the queue, mass of
Coloured immigrants*	wave absorb	prone to			
Total	9	3	1	2	

Table 3. Metaphors in in discussion of the Windrush generation in Hansard 1950s<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Percentages are not given here as the raw numbers are too small for this to be meaningful

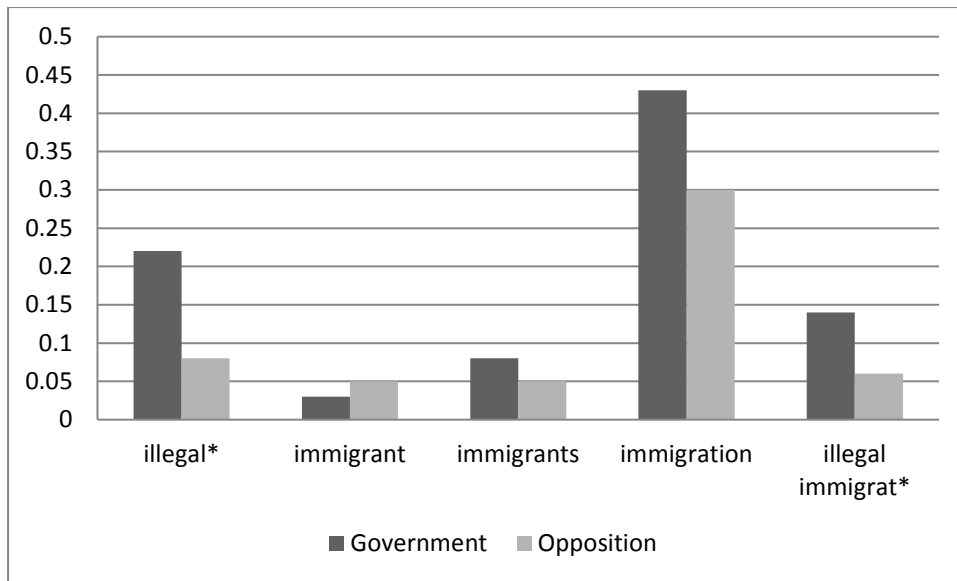


Figure 1. Frequency of reference to illegal immigration in opening turns